

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BUCAR 02110 200818Z

17  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01

SAJ-01 ACDA-07 /068 W  
----- 011282

R R 191454Z APR 76  
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7507  
INFO: RUDKRB/AMEMBASSY BELGRADE 3456  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
JLEMBASSY MOSCOW 2822  
RUDKRP AMEMBASSY PRAGUE 2396  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USMISSION BERLIN UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUCHAREST 2110

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PFOR, RO, US  
SUBJECT: ANDREI COMMENTS ON SONNENFELDT

REF: A. BUCHAREST 1994; B. BUCHAREST 2043

1. ON APRIL 15 AMBASSADOR REPEATED PUZZLEMENT OVER GOR'S  
ATTACK ON NON-EXISTENT "DOCTRINE" (REF BJH TO STEFAN ANDREI  
(PARTY SECRETARY, FOREIGN AFFAIRS), GIVEN CLEAR STATEMENTS

BY PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY. ANDREI RECALLED HIS TALK WITH SONNENFELDT

AND HARTMAN IN NOVEMBER 1974 AT BUCHAREST WHEN  
HE POINZRD OUT RISKS US RUNS IN BLOC-TO-BLOCSIOLITICS,  
ANDREI CLAIMED THAT LONDON TEXT, WHEN PUBLISHED AND NOT  
DENIED, CONTAINED ENOUGH HINTS OF "ZONES OF INFLUENCE" FOR  
GOR TO CONCLUDE STRONG RIPOSTE WAS NECESSARY TO SET RECORD  
STRAIGHT. ANDREI SAID HE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHY AMBASSADOR  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BUCAR 02110 200818Z

IN HIS TALKS WITH MACOVESCU AND GLIGA APPEARED TO DEFEND

SONNENFELDT. ANDREI ALSO WONDERED WHY AMBASSADOR HAD NOT DEFENDED OR AT LEAST VOICED ROMANIA'S POINT OF VIEW AT LONDON. AMBASSADOR REPEATED THAT SONNENFELDT'S REMARKS HAD TO BE SEEN IN THE CONTEXT OF US POLICY, WHOLE ESSENCE OF WHICH HAD BEEN SUPPORT FOR GREATER AUTONOMY AND INDEPENDENCE OF EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

2. AMBASSADOR PUSHED ANDREI TO BE SPECIFIC IN TERMS OF WHAT HAS BOTHERED ROMANIANS. ANDREI LISTED FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. "ORGANIC RELATIONSHIP" WAS WORST -- THIS WAS SOVIET TERM WITH OVERTONES OF "ONE BLOODSTREAM, ONE BODY", SUPRA-NATIONAL ENTITIES AND THE LIKE.

B. "GEOPOLITICAL" OPTIC WITH SPHERES OF INFLUENCE CONNOTATION.

C. NOT ONLY PRAISE FOR HUNGARY'S NON-INDEPENDENCE AND ACCEPTANCE OF SOVIET DOMINANCE (BE IT BENIGN OR OTHERWISE) BUT ENCOURAGEMENT FOR THIS SORT OF BEHAVIOR.

D. THESIS THAT THERE WAS MORE DANGER OF EXPLOSION WITHIN EASTERN EUROPE THAN BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AND THEREFORE EE COUNTRIES HAD BETTER NOT ROCK THE BOAT, BUT JUST BE NICE LITTLE STATES, KEEP QUIET AND DON'T MAKE PROBLEMS.

3. FOR ALL THESE REASONS

ANDREI SAID GOR WAS CONVINCED THAT USG STILL CONTAINS PEOPLE WITH WORRISOME "SPHERES-OF-INFLUENCE" PROCLIVITIES. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, "A GREAT PEOPLE HAVING CONTRIBUTED GREAT THINGS TO CIVILIZATION," HAD TO BE KEPT FROM "CAPITULATIONISM, THAT IS, NEW MUNICHES" (VIS-A-VIS SOVIETS). AS HE HAD TOLD SONNENFELDT AND HARTMAN, THE US HAD TO COME TO BETTER UNDERSTANDING WITH WAVE OF NATIONAL-LIBERATION THE WORLD OVER, AND DEAL WITH IT MORE INTELLIGENTLY. LIKEWISE REGARDING INDEPENDENT COMMUNIST PARTIES IN EUROPE WHERE US WAS MAKING A MISTAKE BY NOT UNDERSTANDING WHAT CHANGES WERE TAKING PLACE. AS HE HAD ALSO SAID THEN, US SEEMED DETERMINED TO ALLY ITSELF WITH REGIMES LIKE THESE IN CHILE AND SPAIN WHERE IT COULD ONLY LOSE. ROMANIA RECOGNIZES "GREAT RESPONSIBILITIES" US HAS FOR WORLD PEACE, YET WHEN US STATEMENTS IMPINGE DIRECTLY ON ROMANIA'S VITAL INTERESTS, INDEED HER VERY EXISTENCE, GOR HAD TO

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BUCAR 02110 200818Z

SPEAK OUT FORCEFULLY AND PUBLICLY, LEST DOUBT BE LEFT. THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE WHEN, GIVEN ALL THE ATTENTION PAID IN THE WEST TO THE "LIMITED SOVEREIGNTY" DOCTRINE, IDEAS APPEAR THAT SEEM TO REINFORCE IT. THIS IS GOR'S MOTIVATION. AMBASSADOR SAID HE HAD KNOWN US POLICY IN EASTERN EUROPE WELL OVER THE YEARS AND THIS POLICY, AS EXPRESSED RECENTLY BY THE PRESIDENT IN MILWAUKEE, MADE CLEAR THAT WE WERE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND AGAINST SOVIET

DOMINATION. THY THEN DID ANDREI THINK THE US WANTED SPHERES OF INFLUENCE? ANDREI SAID BECAUSE, KNOWING THE WAY GREAT POWERS OPERATE, THEY COULD EASILY BE IN FAVOR OF AN ATTANGEMENT WHICH PROVIDED FOR KEEPING OUT OF EACH OTHER'S "GARDEN."

4. IN RESPONSE TO AMBASSADOR'S COMMENT THAT HE STILL WONDERED WHETHER GOR UNDERSTOOD US POLICY IN THIS AREA, ANDREI REPEATED MACOVESCU'S AND GLIGA'S LINE THAT GOR HAD ABSOLUTELY NO QUARREL WITH "OFFICIAL US POLICY" AND EXPECTED US-ROMANIAN RELATIONSHIP TO DEVELOP WELL. BUT NEITHER PRESIDENTS NIXON AND FORD HAD SAID ANYTHING LIKE WHAT SONNENFELDT HAD, EVEN IN PRIVATE. THEREFORE GOR WAS JUSTIFIED IN TREATING SONNENFELDT'S TEXT AS "DONTRINE" COMPLETELY APART FROM US POLICY. ANDREI SAID HE WAS ENCOURAGED TO SEE THAT SONNENFELDT HAD BACKED OFF PUBLICLY FROM WHAT HE SAID IN LONDON AND HIS POSITION WAS FXAGGZIDENTICAL OR CLOSE TO" THE PRESIDENT'S. AMBASSADOR REITERATED THAT SONNENFELDT'S STATEMENTS FROM THE BEGINNING HAD TO BE SEEN IN THE FRAMEWORK OF US POLICY. AMBASSADOR THEN SAID THAT NEITHER THE U.S. NOR, HE TRUSTED, THE ROMANIANS HAD ANY INTEREST IN EXAGGERATING THE WHOLE QUESTION. ANDREI AGREED AND ADDED NEXT TIME HE SAW SONNENFELDT, HE WOULD BE GLAD TO DISCUSS WHOLE ISSUE FURTHER. IT HAD TO BE SEEN AS PART OF IDEOLOGICAL DISPUTE.

BARNES

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLICIES, SPHERE OF INFLUENCE, HEGEMONY, SPEECHES, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 19 APR 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** CunninFX  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976BUCHAR02110  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X1  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760148-0889  
**From:** BUCHAREST  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760448/aaaaboln.tel  
**Line Count:** 142  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 76 BUCHAREST 1994, 76 BUCHAREST 2043  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** CunninFX  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 09 APR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <09 APR 2004 by CollinP0>; APPROVED <30 JUL 2004 by CunninFX>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** ANDREI COMMENTS ON SONNENFELDT  
**TAGS:** PFOR, RO, US, (ANDREI, STEFAN), (SONNENFELDT, HELMUT)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006